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CANDID TRUTH, &c.

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CANDID TRUTH,

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ANSWER to a PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED

A LETTER to US, *k*

FROM

ONE of OURSELVES.

L O N D O N:

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M D C C L X X V I I.

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ANSWERS TO A PAMPHLET

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A LETTER

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ONE OF OURSELVES

LONDON

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1790

CANDID TRUTH, &c.

NO Country in the civilized World discovers more Solitude for it's Liberty than *England*, an Attention that does it Honour in the highest Degree, argues the Possession of Principles most generous and noble : Every Individual here examines the Structure of Freedom, and prys with a curious Eye into every Part of the Building, and speaks his Thoughts and Reflections on it, under the Sanction of the Laws. Thus protected, permit me, Countrymen, with humble Deference, to appear before you, with an Heart warmed with Zeal, but not tinged with Licentiousness, that

Bane of Freedom and Enemy to the most serious, best concerted, and best intended Designs.

We are much governed in our Sentiments of political Writings by the Motives of the Writer, his Connexions, Dependence, or Expectations. That the following Pages may be read with Candour, be assured, Reader, I have no other Motive for standing forth in Opposition to the Doctrines of a "Letter to Us from one of Ourselves," than to rescue some Characters from a very illiberal and injurious Attack, to whom I am not known, and that sacred Regard for the Constitution of this Kingdom, which every Englishman should cherish as his Life, his Honour, his Glory—Nay, perhaps, few have been used worse, or under less Obligations to his Country than myself; but in the public Cause, private Considerations should not intervene, hinder our giving it those Aids that social Obligations require of us, or interrupt that Tribute
to

to Truth and Virtue, which their native Worth most justly Claims, wherever found.

The Basis of the Letter Writer's Observations is the prevailing Luxury of the Times, and the Malignity of its Effects on the Community; a Truth too evident to be denied: However, we must observe, that Luxury is a Term too indefinite to carry that clear and certain Idea, which is necessary to the perfect Understanding of what is always meant by it. We often annex the Idea of Luxury to Equipage, plentiful Tables, and Dress; the Test of the Idea is, how far the Person's Fortune is adequate to his Expences. If it is equal or superior, you will not criminate him: Or suppose he transcends the Bounds of Prudence, breaks in upon social or moral Obligations; so far from it that it causes a due Circulation of Wealth, that would be lost to the Nation if locked up in his Chest, and promotes the Happiness of the Industrious, by giving them Labour and

Bread. The Point in which Luxury bears a criminal View, is when we live beyond our Circumstances, and transcend the Bounds of Prudence. In this we become personally criminal, and convey that Property to others, which ought to have been retained for our own Use and Comfort—and give others that Step in the Community which our Imprudence deprived us of. We are thus impoverished and degraded; but another built on our Ruins, rises into our Situation, and the Community at large receives no Damage, no Alteration in it's Opulence, Strength, or Importance.

Luxury is dangerous to a Nation, when it's Allurements engage too much the Attention of those who are possessed of high Offices in the State, and induces them to give that Time to Dissipation which they owe to the Care of their Country—squander away Riches that are entrusted to them for national Uses, and suffer the Fumes of Intemperance so to bewilder their Heads,
that

that they are open to the Imposition and Circumvention of those they are officially engaged with—Wherever this appears, we may justly tremble for the Community. On the other Side, when these Foibles mark not the Characters of Administration, we shall scarcely do our Understandings common Justice, in not attributing to those Noblemen who guide the Wheel of State, as much Credit as we would to any Individual in an humble Sphere of Life; believe they have Prudence, and would not wantonly play with their Fortunes, Fame, Rank, and every Thing that can be supposed dear to Man.

What Motive can we suppose Administration has to act contrary to the Good of the Community, — to the Injury of the Empire? All that they are, have, or may expect for themselves and their Families, to the latest Generations, is built on the Existence of the *British* Empire. Their Fortunes are more intimately connected with
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the Good of the Nation than the Generality of Individuals; and can we suppose they will knowingly relinquish or infringe those Blessings? To imagine it is absurd. Are they Men of no Capacity and Education? They are known to be of first Rate Abilities, enlarged by all the Education that Rank and Opulence can procure.—Are the Resources of national Wealth and Strength concealed from them? They have them *ad unguem*.—Are the Forces, Interests, Alliances, and Dispositions of foreign Nations unknown to them? Their Affluity, critical Caution, and Intelligence, gained by Means universally known, as well as secret and improper to be communicated, must convince us they are not. If then we are convinced (which it is scarcely possible we should not be) that they are Men of good Abilities, and perfectly acquainted with foreign and domestic Affairs, we cannot, on the common Principles of Reason, disapprove of their Conduct,

duct, or think either the Liberty or Glory of the Empire insecure in their Hands.

And moreover, we have in our Hands a Power independent on Administration, by which we can at any Time convey to the Throne any Errors or Mistakes we may discover in the Minister's Conduct, and have him arraigned by the sovereign Authority, which is the Press; a Privilege dear to every Englishman as the vital Air—a Privilege that depends upon our own Virtue, and keeping it incorrupt and pure. Whilst it breathes Truth and Justice, it is that Chain by which the Crown and Subject act in Conjunction, on the firmest Basis of Confidence, against the Arts of Circumvention or Imposition, as an impenetrable Bulwark superior to the Efforts of Force and Design. But when the Press is employed in the Aims of Passion, Malevolence, or wild Ambition, it is not the glorious Privilege we admire; there is no Privilege founded on Vice and Corruption —
but

but it is an arbitrary Assumption substituted in it's room, founded on Licentiousness, destructive to Liberty. What Appellation, then, is sufficiently vile for those who, misleading the People, imposing upon the ***, trample upon the Liberties of the People—are Traitors to the Crown, and degrade the Dignity of the Nation. The Privilege of the Press, which we value, is to convey Intelligence; and when the Motive of Information is to rectify Error, it will not conjoin to it Bitterness or Malevolence. The Shrines of Truth and Justice want not the Shades of Acrimony to set them off, their own native Worth will call and receive Attention. Whenever therefore we see Bitterness, Indecency, and Malevolence accompanying Intelligence, the Motive has not the genuine Stamp, but shews a latent Malady and Corruption in the Informer, which taints his Thoughts and Language. Shall I think that Man a Friend to Liberty, who in general Terms publishes, “ that all Men
“ of

“ of Abilities are wholly employed in se-
 “ curing his Share of the general Plunder ;
 “ that the Man who from inferior Talents
 “ is unable to become a Knave, content-
 “ edly enjoys the Luxuries of Life, and
 “ wishes for no Alteration in the System
 “ which affords him every Gratification his
 “ Appetites desire ;” who calumniates every
 Branch of the Legislature, insults a whole
 Body of Men merely because they are Bi-
 shops, and treats the merchantile World
 with Indignation and Contempt, because
 they are not disposed to Commotion—to
 alter the System of the Constitution, and
 use *Efforts*, as he is pleased to express him-
 self : Or, in other Words, to stir up a ci-
 vil War and internal Ruin. Yet this Man
 presumes to call himself a Man of public
 Virtue ! Thou beauteous Goddess, arrayed
 in Honour and Truth, how is thy sacred
 Name polluted ! Is he thy Devotee, who
 would subvert his Country ? A Nation dis-
 tinguished by Genius and Temper, blest as
 it were amongst other Countries with the

exclusive Privilege of being free—a Nation to which, on that Account, all the World looks up with Wonder and Admiration. Wouldest thou use *Efforts* to see her levelled from her Eminence, to become a Bond Servant to other Countries? It is a Sight too pitiable to pass by with Indifference—a Crime of uncommon Guilt, too awful not to strike us with Horror and Amazement!

That Power originally lodged in the aggregate Body, is as true as that Societies are formed of a Number of Individuals; but you cannot from thence conclude, that it is just, proper, or practicable to reduce Societies to their pristine State, and resume the delegated Power. The Futility of the Idea will not permit me to suppose you serious—the World would be thrown into Confusion, and deluged with Blood.—Every Body of People, in the Arrangement of their Government, followed the Mode that was most agreeable to their Ideas of
general

general Utility and Advantage; but into whatever Shape they threw it, or into whatsoever Hand they delegated their Power, they thought themselves bound to obey, or otherwise they would have given a Power, and hindered the Operation of it, and of Course existed in a State of Anarchy, with a Chief incapacitated to serve them. The Name of a Chief by no Means alters the Man; the Distinction between them arises from the Extent of Power which gives him Elevation in Society, and enables him to do good: The Dispositions of Nature are the same in all Men; and we have seen, and do see, as much Despotism in Republicks as exists in most Governments; so that it cannot be the Disposition of ****s to devour Mankind, any more than it is the Disposition of a Doge of *Venice*, or of a Burgomaster of *Holland*. But probably you would mean, that the Possession of extensive Power creates, like other Acquisitions, a Desire for more; and therefore conclude that Power

vested in one Personage is prejudicial to the Rights of Society. I cannot see by any Means any Weight in your Assertion, particularly with Respect to ourselves : Power in any Degree is too much if abused, and no Power is too much if well employed ; but as either Extreme may be fatal, because to vest no Power in a Supreme would be to have no Government, so unlimited Power, our Ancestors thought, would be too great a Temptation to Humanity, and therefore circumscribed it by Laws that neither infringe the Dignity of the Crown on one Hand, or render it boundless on the other ; we do not appear therefore to be in the least Danger of being devoured. However you may intimate that the Employments in the Gift of the Crown have a voracious Quality in them—they were vested in the Crown to support it's Dignity, as the Fountain of Honour, and as a Bond of Loyalty, and are estimated as Distinctions of Worth and Merit. Will any Patriot deny that the **** should possess the

the Power of rewarding those who have served their Country? Or will the Man of Genius think it at all unjust, that his ——— should have the Ability to advance his Studies, and reward his Merits? What then are we to complain of? Is it a Misapplication of the Power? Probably we have been neglected, and we certainly have as much Genius and Merit as other Men. It is true, you may be highly deserving, but your Merits might not have reached the Throne. You see a Majority in the House of L—ds and C——ns, and cannot believe they act from Principle, because they act contrary to your Sentiments; and you see many who have received Benefits from the Crown attached to the Measures of A———n, and thence deduce, that they are venal Slaves; why not rather say, they acted from Sentiment and Gratitude? You cast so black an Hue on the Majority of both Houses, that many will say you judge of others by yourself; that you are so intimately acquainted with the Corruptions of
of

of human Nature, that you cannot believe they have common Honour or Honesty : Nor will the sober Part of Mankind think they possess a Grain of Virtue less, for endeavouring to support the Union of the Empire ; or that you are a Man of more Honour, for boasting of your private Virtue, professing a Desire, and waiting for an Opportunity to overturn our System of Government, deprive *England* of her Dominions, and render her a servile Province to some more potent Monarchy.

Is it not amazing that *you*, who in such swelling Strains call aloud for Liberty, for Humanity, and have such tender Sensations of the Rights of Nature, the Rights of Society, such Feelings for the human Race, should rejoice in the spilling the Blood of *Charles* the First, in that *glorious Sacrifice*, (as you call it) which foreign Nations have ever looked upon with Horror, and considered as an indelible Stain on the *British* Nation ? Can there be Humanity in the
Heart

Heart of him who applauds a Scene that plunged the Father's Dagger into the Bosom of the Son? Where are the Feelings of him who smiles in reflecting the Parricide dragged his aged Sire to Slaughter? Where is his Patriotism, who can take Pleasure in recollecting his Country's Desolation, Families ruined, and Rage rushing furiously through our Streets? How can you presume to intimate a Regard for Liberty, who applaudest the most cruel Tyrant that ever usurped a Throne, or disgraced the Laws of Society and Nature? He shewed (you say) the World that Nations are not the Property of Kings; as the *Neapolitan* Fisherman did, when he possessed the Throne, and butchered the Nobles. Was this Lesson produced by his great Virtues, or the Luxury of the People? Did Humanity raise him, and Pufillanimity sink the People? His Daughter stung him with his Crimes in her dying Moments. It was not his *Generalship* to soften by Luxury, and make the People subser-

subservient to his Aims: No, *Hypocrisy* deluded the Multitude; canting and lying prevailed on the easy People to think his specious Conduct virtuous; and their *hardy Virtue*, not to be softened by Luxury or infringed with Impunity, was given up to the Artifice of a pretended Saint, who used them as contemptible Tools, and spurned them when no longer necessary to his Ambition.

If the *Stewart* Line erred against the Constitution, lament the Times which pressed one to Violence, and the Bigotry that blinded the others Intellects; but the just will ever call their most flagrant Errors virtuous, when put in Competition with the Actions of that Man who made the Sacrifice you call glorious.

You are pleased to think Luxury the properest Mode of reducing Nations to Slavery; I wonder you had not thought Hypocrisy more effectual, when you have seen
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it's Power in the great Rebellion : Or do you discern the Obsoleteness of it, and find the Nation no longer to be imposed upon by Sounds and Professions. Open Attacks on the Constitution turned out to those who made them ineffectual and fatal ; they were so fatal as (whilst the Madness raged) to possess the whole Kingdom, but being void of Principle they could not be durable ; for however brilliant the Actions of the *British* Arms were abroad, Government at home was feeble ; and as soon as the single Support of the Usurper failed, they found the only Means of avoiding Anarchy and universal Destruction, was to apply to their Sovereign, and seek Felicity under the Royal Sway.

The Generalship of the Crown from this Period, you say, was to use Artifice, in order to enslave the People. The Prince who then filled the Throne, most undoubtedly had little Pretensions to Artifice in his Transactions, unless the most open Levi-

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ties,

ties, and free Display of natural Genius, could be called Artifice, to entrap his People: Nor could the open Embassy of his Successor to subject the Kingdom to the Pope, his admitting Roman Catholics to his Councils, and the open Celebration of their religious Ceremonies under his Protection, which alienated the Affections of the People from him, and cost him his Crown, be private Artifice; the Attack was open, nor was Luxury at all called in to aid. And how comes it that King *William*, whom you regard as a Founder of your Liberty, should by Artifice attempt to subvert that Liberty, and enslave a People he had made free? It is really very unkind of you to load a Prince of glorious Memory with such inglorious Conduct, and charge him with connecting us with all the Politicks of *Europe*: (by which I suppose you mean, that before his Time we lived inconnected with other Nations, and knew nothing of foreign Alliances, Treaties, Inter-marriages, or commercial Intercourse) And from the
great

great Regard he had to the internal Peace and Advantage of his People, that he may not injure them by levying Taxes they were willing to pay, he borrowed large Sums of Money and loaded them with Principle and Interest.—This Prince had certainly more substantial Reasons for borrowing Money, than the simple Reason of not making the People angry by calling on them for Money to pay their Debts. The Fact is, the Scheme of a national Bank, like those of *Amsterdam* and *Genoa*, was recommended to the Ministry as an excellent Institution, as well for the Credit and Security of the Government, as for the Increase of Trade and Circulation; the Plan was formed by a *William Paterson*, and so well approved of, that the Fund was full in a few Days. But, Sir, granting the public Utility of the Bank, which was the Idea that gave it Birth, when once it was determined to erect it, an Arrangement of Officers became necessary to conduct it; and in whose Hands could the Disposal of them be vested

unless in the Crown? They could not be self-chosen, be in the Nomination of the People at large, or selected from any particular Body or Class. The Enlargement of the Influence of the Crown became a necessary Consequence of an Institution built on public Utility: That the Crown should have Influence over it's Servants, is natural and just; but it is no Consequence that it should use that Influence to the public Injury—Nay, it appears that the Crown sets little Value on the Influence extended in that Line, for I know many of her Servants, who do not draw with Administration, but publicly oppose their Measures, and arrange themselves amongst the virtuous few; but farther it would be difficult to prove, that the Crown would pursue it's Interest in enslaving the People, or reducing a Spirit of Liberty; for Liberty in Notion, animates and gives an Alacrity to the Mind in all it's Operations, and in Fact, produces an Exertion of Genius that is no less beneficial to the commercial World, than it is to the literary;

terary; for when a Merchant knows he shall reap the Advantage of extending his Commerce, or improving his Manufactures, he will exert himself; and the sure Consequence of such Improvements is an Enlargement of Revenue and national Opulence, the vital Nurture of Power and regal Sway: But all this would be lost, if Freedom was suppressed, and the Labours of Industry liable to be swallowed up by the Crown, as we see evidenced in the *Asiatic* and many of the *European* Powers; so that the Dream of the C——s wishing to enslave the People from a Spirit of Aggrandizement is a mere Vapour, unless we can be absurd enough to think the **** would submit to be needy, and reduced to domestic Difficulties, in order to have the Pleasure of being surrounded by a Parcel of indigent Creatures somewhat more wretched than himself.

If then, (as I presume has been made appear) from the Period when you assert
the

the Designs of Government was to reduce the People to Slavery by Art, it was not the Disposition of the Princes to use Artifice; if so far from inculcating the Luxuries of the Table, Dress, and Equipage, the Court was far less brilliant than is now seen in many private noble Families, we may venture to assert your long and regular concerted Plan of reducing the People to Slavery by a Series of Luxury is groundless, and must sink, with all it's Consequences and Deductions.

The Increase of the national Debt has been gradual: What mortgaged Estate does not plunge deeper and increase it's Burden? If on any Emergency it could not maintain the Family Expences, how can we expect it will when Part of it's Produce must be applied to pay Interest? Events that have impoverished every Kingdom and State in *Europe* have principally occasioned the ill. *Lewis* the Fourteenth's Thirst of Empire, and Desire of Dominion, called forth Expences

pences greater than the natural Wealth of *France* or *England* could supply : Our Nation has been obliged to strain her Sinews, both in King *William's* and Queen *Anne's* Wars, to counteract that Prince's Aim at universal Empire ; and very often since, to maintain her Glory against Powers united to oppress her. These Events, it is true, make the Labourer, the Man in narrow Circumstances, feel the Weight of Taxes—the Burden of wild Ambition. But, Sir, we must take the World as we find it, and should have an higher Sensation than that which arises from temporary Ills—the love of our Country ; nor bear the Idea of having her trampled on, or complain that our Bread is brown, when the **** is contented with the coarsest, and shews that Delicacies are not necessary to form the Gentleman, Scholar, and Politician.

The Representations you give of public Characters, make it necessary to reply to your Observations, and in so doing I may
appear

appear a Panegyrist ; but it is not my Design to veil public Virtue by the fulsome Shades of Applause ; nor do I think any one is properly capable of displaying Characters from public Report — Facts speak for themselves.

The Year 1759 you have chosen to affix as the Period in which our Arms were successful, and our Affairs under a Man competent in Knowledge and replete with Wisdom : He may be so, I shall not depreciate his Merits ; but he resigned, and Peace ensued — a Peace peculiarly odious in your Eyes, and some others, who wished to see that Minister pursue the Paths of Glory, and adorn us with the bright Robes of Fame, whilst he exhausted the Riches of the Nation, and threatened it with a general Bankruptcy. The ultimate Aim of War should be to secure a good Peace — a Peace that will hinder the Enemy from making Depredations, and compensate for the Expences of the War. The
War

War was occasioned by the Incroachments of the *French* on our Territories in *North America*. They were driven out of that Country, and not only resigned their Pretensions to any Part of that Country, but suffered Fortifications within their own Domain in *Europe* to be demolished, because they were offensive to us. The Object of reducing the Enemy obtained, to compensate for our Expences we obtained a Cession of Territory in *North America*, *Africa*, the *East* and *West Indies*, larger than all *Europe*, abundant in Wealth and Produce, Sources of Opulence, and Monuments of *British* Triumph.

These Blessings thus obtained, see our
 ***** lead on the smiling Offspring of
 Peace, cultivate the politer Arts, encourage
 Science, and raise the youthful Mind to
 Ingenuity and Virtue: Now you may see
 Foreigners come from various Nations, to
 attain our Improvements, and enrich their
 Countries by our Discoveries; now you see

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Agricul-

Agriculture thrive, the Husbandman acquainted with Mechanics, and improve his Lands on philosophic Principles; now you see the Spirit of Invention flourish in every Department and Branch of useful Art and Knowledge; now you see the humaner Virtues flourish, orphan and forsaken Girls instructed in the Arts of Industry, and taught the Beauties of Virtue and Religion by the Hand of R——y; now the poor Debtor is freed from Bondage by the generous Donations of the public spirited; and Boys collected from Indigence, the Snares of Vice and Rapine, are rendered useful to the State; whilst the **** animates the Whole, and knows no Distinction between united Countries than what arises from personal Merit: Is this the narrow Produce of a systematic Education, the Result of a few domestic Virtues?

The Arts of Peace have their Beauties; not so glaring indeed as those of War, but infinitely more conducive to the Advantage of

of Society, and the Happiness of the human Race: The noble Earl who presided at the T——y wished to cultivate them, and advance the Pleasures of domestic Felicity, but soon fell a Sacrifice to the Clamour of those who thought the Office he possessed should be held by an Englishman only.— Party Measures by no Means criminate a Man; and certainly no one was more regarded by his Servants, or respected by those who were honoured in his Friendship: These are allowed Truths, and shall not we, who are too distant from the Cabinet to know Things,—from the Uniformity of the mental Disposition, allow his Motives in public Concerns were benevolent, as his Ability was strong and penetrating? And who of all the *British* Subjects did more Credit to our Arms in the last War than the *Scotch*? Who are more ingenious in the literary World, more prudent and industrious? For which of these Characters shall we treat them with Indignity? Blot not the Page with foul Appel-

lations, disgraceful to Humanity. To impeach a Nation is illiberal in the highest Degree; and to abuse a Body of Men, because they differ in religious Discipline from you, indicates a Spirit seldom found on this Side the *Atlantic*—Would to God it were not too much in *America*—ill-fated Land! where yet I trust some Honour may be found, and improved to the Benefit of future Generations.

There are no Circumstances in which the Mind discovers a Want of Candour so evidently, as where it is influenced by Passion and Interest; they cause it to view Characters in the Light they please, and induce us to think those criminal whom others look upon with Admiration: This Frailty should be guarded against as much as possible, or we shall be entraped in our own Folly. The most effectual Method of discovering whether the Judgment is impartial or not, is to observe whether it admits of Virtue and Excellence in those who
oppose

oppose our Desires, or engage in a Line of Action avowedly opposite to our general Principles; but if we should be found to applaud those only who have the same political Principles, we shall shew our Enmity but not our Judgment: Virtue and Ability is confined to no one Class of Men, nor can Party absorb, though it may aim to cloud, all Worth and Merit. The L—C— J—, I have been assured by Men of real Integrity, his Cotemporaries at *Eaton*, was the most distinguished Boy in the School for Learning, Elegance, and Solidity of Composition: As he grew up, his Abilities soon made him respectable at the Bar, and introduced him into public Offices, until in successive Reigns, and under Administrations of different Complexions, he gradually was advanced to the Rank he now enjoys. His L—p's Motives and natural Temper cannot be better discovered, so far as they concern the Public, than in the Impartiality of his Decisions as a Judge, and his Conduct as a Lord

Lord of Parliament. In the first of these Characters his Appearance is coveted by Parties; his primary Desire is to accommodate Matters, and establish Union amongst the contending Neighbours: In the latter, the firm Union, Interest and Dignity of the *British* Empire. It is true, he has often chastised the licentious Pen, and shielded Character from the Venom of Abuse, and corrected the licentious Attacks of the Libeller, who, incapable of subverting Order by open Violence, attempted to poison the Peoples Minds by cruel and unjust Representations. Are these his *Enormities* that furnish the Mind with Ideas of Detestation? If such Steps are deemed Restrictions on the Liberty of the Press, happy is the Man whose Situation and Heart enables him to be the Guardian of his Country's Cause! Happy are the People who, actuated by Truth and Justice, can bid their honest Fame rest secure, shielded by the Laws from the envenomed Bite of Slander! Nor do I believe any one who has experienced the steady

Virtue

Virtue, and admired the unequalled Abilities of L—d M——d, will lament that he has not the Vices of a great Man.

In the Intercourse I have had with the mercantile World, I have generally experienced a Liberality of Sentiment, and Beneficence of Disposition, that by no Means denote a corrupt Mind or Heart; if you descend indeed to the low Trader and Mechanic, who drink Porter and smoke their Pipes in the little Receptacles of Solishness and City Politics, your Ideas are perfectly correspondent to their narrow Principles and promptitude to Absurdity; but there are in the mercantile Body properly so called, many Men of Family and Education, Genius, and well-cultivated Ability, who negotiate on the Principle of Justice, would scorn to be Tools of Faction, or subject their Names to the Reproach of betraying their Country through Turbulence, or for the Sake of Gain; *whose Liberality you allow has induced them at many Periods to*

show

show themselves active in Support of Liberty; though a little above, their Employ corrupted their Minds, and made Advantage their leading Principle: From this Contradiction I freely exonerate you; your Ideas had rested on two separate Sorts of Men; on Men of Honour and Virtue, and on Slaves of Faction, bold Intruders on the sacred Laws of Order. The former are Men tenacious of Character in their Occupations; their Minds, habituated to Regularity, find Experience, Caution, and Penetration essentially necessary to the Management of Business, nor venture either the Loss of Fortune, or the Imputation of being Fools, by engaging in Affairs foreign to their Knowledge: The latter have not this Arrangement of Mind, this sober Mode of Reflection; being generally accustomed to command Slaves, and with Impunity to lacerate the Wretches Limbs, they know not how to obey, or acknowledge superiors; and heated by Turtle, Pepper-pot, and Madeira, fancy themselves amongst their

Canes

Canes and Tobacco, and treat every Measure that interferes with their immediate Interest with Violence and Resentment, without the least Sense of that gentle Condescension and Disposition to Conciliation essentially necessary to public and private Harmony.

The Actions of every good Man are accompanied with a Conviction that he is doing what is just and proper, or from a Confidence in his superiors, produced by an Opinion that they act upon those Principles, and therefore thinks himself morally obliged not to deviate from their Commands. The Gentlemen who enter into a military Life, with a Design to make Arms their Profession, and not the Accoutrements of Gaiety and Dissipation, necessarily express, in the very Act of taking a Commission, that they take upon them to defend their Country, it's Crown and Dignity, and must consider an Attempt on them as an Attack upon his Engagements: If

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the Attempt is made by a foreign Enemy, his own Judgment does not hesitate a Moment to justify his drawing his Sword; if the Attack is occasioned by civil Discord, or the Rebellion of Colonies, he knows he is not engaged in the Intricacies of Politics, but simply to guard his Country, the Crown and Dignity of the *British* Empire, obey his Commander's Orders, and animate those under his Command to support the Cause of Virtue and Glory.

A standing Army is a great Expence to the Nation, occasioning an Increase of the Price of Provision and Labour, and undoubtedly would be dispensed with was it prudent so to do. It is easy to point out Inconveniencies, but not so easy to get rid of them; the present Arrangement of Nations is such, that we are necessitated to keep an Army ready to oppose the standing Armies of our Neighbours, otherwise how soon should we be a Prey to their Ambition? To boast that every Man will become

come a Soldier in his Country's Cause, sounds pretty, but how romantic! Would our Militia protect the Kingdom from foreign Invaders? Some of the Regiments are indeed fine Fellows, and perform their Exercise well; but would they, think you, drive hardy Veterans from the Coast? Or do you believe the Trained Bands, used to Beef, Punch, and a Pipe, would defend the City of *London* if attacked? You may as well think there is Piety in an American's cursing his Mother Country in his Prayers, and begging Destruction on the Author of his Being, filial Tenderness and Gratitude.

You assert, Sir, and it is possible you have written without an Eye to Praise or Profit; you may despise one, and be above the other; and you may not intend to deceive: But your Contempt, Sir, for the honest Commendation of Mankind, your Affluence, your being mistaken, are no Compensation to a Community, for diffu-

sing Doctrines fatal to every moral and so-
 cial Principle: Can your Ignorance of their
 Effects make any Satisfaction to an Indivi-
 dual, who should be seduced by you to
 think ill of his ***, to suspect the Le-
 gislature, to abominate every Class of Men
 in Church and State, whom you, with the
 utmost Innocence and best Heart in the
 World, have painted the basest, most pro-
 fligate, and most dishonest of Mankind.
 It is true, the Recollection of having en-
 joyed Places of Value hurts the Mind, and
 makes every one possessed of them odious;
 but be not discouraged, the natural Revolu-
 tion of Things may open the Way for you
 to obliterate the disgusting Reflection, and
 make that Class of Men the most amiable
 Creatures in the World; then the Weight
 of Taxes and the Luxury of the Times
 will be considerably reduced.

The Cause of our present Situation you
 have a long While intimated, arises from a
 settled Plan in Government, from the Time
 of

of *Charles* the Second, to enervate the People by Luxury; but now you are pleased to place it in another Point of View, and attribute it to a Want of real Information in the —, and a Defect of Duty in the People: You certainly are not serious in your first Position; you know that the Laws of the Land give a Right to Subjects to address the Throne on all Occasions where the Interest of the People requires it; you cannot be unacquainted that it is the peculiar Disposition of the **** to receive Petitions from Men, Women, and Children, and attend to them with parental Kindness: And if you had enquired, you would soon have known that his M——y is not only well informed of foreign Affairs, and often works until Two in the Morning, in answering emergent Dispatches with his own Hand, but perfect Master of domestic Concerns. With respect to the latter, that the People are deficient in Duty, not a Cot from *Georgia* to the River *St. Lawrence* will controvert your Assertion.

tion. What Estrangement is there then between the *Father* and the *People*? Is it at all an Instance of fatherly Regard, or necessary to the parental Character, for him to be always in the *Gymnasium* with his Children? Or is it necessary to the Felicity and Interest of the People, that the — of a mighty Empire should drink Grog and smoke Tobacco amongst them? The wisest in all Ages have thought, that those who enjoy the supreme Rank in a State should be honoured adequate to their Rank; and that degrading the Dignity of the Chief was a Crime against the State, and every Individual in it, who is engaged by Nature and Duty to protect it's Fame.

There is an honest Partiality inherent in Man for his Country that nothing can divest him of; the *Laplander* loves his frozen Zone, the *African* his burning Sands; they see Beauties in their several Climes, which to you would be insupportable. You too love your Country—from whence is that

that Preference to our Nation? "We are
 "a conquered Nation—we are indebted to
 "the Ingenuity of Foreigners for a great
 "Part of our Knowledge in Trade and
 "Manufactures. Our Climate is not so
 "good as that of many other Countries—
 "Our natural Temper is not the liveliest
 "in the World—Our Polish is not the
 "finest—Our Morals are not the best—
 "Our Soil is not the richest. What then
 "is it which, without the Imputation of
 "Partiality, justifies the holding our own
 "Country in the highest Estimation? It is,
 "I will say, without a Fear of Contradiction,
 "the peculiar Excellence of our Constitution." I should not have expected
 you to have fixed your Love on that which
 has continued to rot these hundred Years,
 "as it's **** is secluded from the People—
 "it's Lords and Commons void of
 "Virtue, immersed in Villainy, Corruption,
 "and Luxury—as it is devoured by
 "Scotch Banditti, and falling into Ruin."
 Is this the Beauty you admire? Your Vir-

we must be of a peculiar Turn to be fond of such Corruption. It is somewhat singular, though not very common, that Men should see the same Object in two different Characters: I admire the Constitution, but do not see the Deformity; and the more I view it, the more I am convinced of the reality of those Beauties for which it has long been the Admiration of the World; observe her uniting the various Degrees of People in one general Council, giving every one an Opportunity of asserting his individual Rights, and the Happiness of contributing to the general Good; that generous Ambition Nature opens with the Prospect of Pleasure, Glory, and Honour.

If you would be thought to admire the Mode of the Constitution, and extend your Wishes to rectify the Manners of those who are engaged in the executive Part of it, by the Rule of former Ages, you will find yourself immersed in an *Eutopian* Cause, building a fairy Structure foreign to Nature;

ture. Time necessarily makes a Change in Manners, Modes of thinking and acting: The simple State of Nature gave Way to social Refinements. A few Years since the Towns of *Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. &c.* were inhabited by a needy, laborious, careful People; now they enjoy the Elegancies of the Table and public Entertainments. *Philadelphia*, that quondam Seat of Simplicity, threw off her humble Garb as soon as possible, and entertained with Delicacies and the richest Wines, and revelled in the Amusements of the gay World; Plays, Balls and Assemblies, Music, Billiards, &c. These were discountenanced neither by *G—le, P—t, T—le, Wi—s*, or the pious *Smith*. Lay not these Things to the malign Design of Government; it is the Wish of Nature first to attain Sustenance, then Ease, Elegance—a Wish that ever has, and ever will be indulged: We cannot eradicate the Powers of Nature, and induce a free People not to use those Bless-

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sings God has given them for their Comfort: To attempt this would be an Act little short of Madness. — Let us now consider how far your three political Positions would answer the End you propose by them.

The first, To promote more frequent Elections, will tend to make the Representative more virtuous.

In order for the Representative to be virtuous, it is necessary that his Electors should be virtuous; if they are not, the frequent Returns of Elections will be only more frequent Occasions of indulging their Rapacity: If the People are virtuous, and the Candidate criminal, we cannot suppose they will elect a Man so averse from their Principles; and if they elect one of Virtue, the longer he represents them the better: If they would shorten the Time of his setting, lest Security should expose him

to

to Corruption, they shew they have been hasty, and will, on Reflection, make a Choice that shall neither betray their Judgment, or stimulate their Fears: And if a dishonest Man should impose upon the honest Electors, and by corrupting a dishonest Party supercede his Competitor, the Laws have provided for the Contingency, will immediately expel him the House, and admit the other Member. I have seen much of Elections, and know that the Animosities created then do not subside for seven Years; how would they be warmed were they renewed every three Years? — The Kingdom would be one continued Scene of Confusion. It is not from Bribery this Animosity is produced, it is chiefly from Difference of religious Tenets, personal Connexions, and Interest in Trade; and every sober Man must be persuaded the less the former is touched upon the better, and the more regularly the other goes on, the more it will advance and be improved.

Secondly, An equal Representation. The Constitution designed that all Bodies should be represented; the Towns that are not, have sprung up into Affluence since the Constitution was formed, or were too poor to sustain the original Mode of maintaining their Members; but these are represented by the County Members, have as free Access to the House of Commons as any Part of the Kingdom, and on no Occasion excluded the Liberty of petitioning and remonstrating.

Thirdly, The Exclusion of Placemen and Pensioners has been spoken to in the former Part of this Work.

The First of these Propositions would be exceedingly prejudicial to the Community — the Second unnecessary — and the Third an Infringement on the Constitutional Prerogative of the Crown.

To

To carry your Plan into Execution, you would add fifty-two Members to the landed Interest, to communicate the Sense of the Nation: Cannot two in each County represent to the House of Commons the Grievances or Desires of the People as well as one? Is it not as natural for two Men of Fortune and Reputation to attend minutely to their Property and Characters as one? But the Secret is, you would have one County Dictator, chosen not to consider the Propriety, but purposely to carry these Points into Execution, and fifty-two to throw into the Minority. Supposing your Plan could be admitted, and you succeeded in your Wish to overturn the present Administration, what would accrue to the Nation from changing it's Servants, and permitting a Body of Men to fall upon the Vitals of the Constitution? The only visible Consequence is a Breach between the — and People, civil Discord and Destruction.

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The Constitution, as it now is, permits no Man to deprive me of my Liberty, or infringe my Property; it makes me, in the narrow Circle of my Being and Possessions as independent as the richest Noble, and affords me as extensive Protection—it unites the whole Community as one Family, by the Ties of mutual Interest, pure Religion, and Morals—it is gentle to Errors, kind to Virtue, indulgent to dissenting Tenets, and the Sentiments of tender Consciences. Thus are our Minds, our Persons, our Property free: These are the dearest Things to Man. Let no Conjectures draw us into Novelty, and rob us of our Blessings—let us maintain them with honest Tenaciousness: We owe it to our Happiness—we owe it to Generations yet unborn: And may our Love for our Country and Constitution make us ever declare, as *Ruth* did to *Naomi*, “ I will not leave thee, nor return from following thee; thy People shall be my People, and thy
“ God,

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“ God my God ; where thou diest I will
“ die, and there will I be buried : The
“ Lord do so to me, if ought but Death
“ part thee and me.”

F I N I S.





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